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ABSTRACT

The care or neglect which people bestow on the appearance and cleanliness of the public places in which they live and work is the central focus of this paper. Basically the phenomenon that is studied is that encountered when people who are usually law abiding, orderly, and responsible citizens deviate from the prescribed and insituttionalized norms by littering, trampling, defacing, and otherwise neglecting or damaging the environment in public and semipublic places. Antecedent variables such as community size, density, and heterogeneity as well as residential stability, age distirubiton, and housing types are posited. The general hypothesis implied by this choice of variables is that, with increasing urbanism, more patterned evasion from the relevant prevailing norms will be found. This phenomenon is studied in a sample of 24 kibbutzim, since in these settings values tend to be clearly articulated in the formal and informal normative systems and are more readily observable. The general hypothesis receives some empirical support. However, it is not urbanism as conventionally defined that is related to the patterned evasion, but rather different elements of the urbanism syndrome are associated with different aspects of environmental care. (Author/AM)

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NORMS RELATING TO ENVIRONMENTAL CARE IN PUBLIC PLACES: A STUDY OF KIBBUTZIM

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The central focus of this paper[1] is the care or neglect which people bestow on the appearance and cleanliness of the public places in which they live and work. This type of behavior deserves careful study for two reasons. First, from an ecological point of view, it has direct bearing on the quality of the physical environment, tending to affect the degree to which people will either feel comfortable in it, or will try to avoid it and move away to other places. Secondly, taking a more sociological perspective, the normative systems of many contemporary societies generally proscribe littering and other abuses of public places by formal norms, but these norms are also, just as generally, violated informally.

Behavior in this area of social life is, in fact, a prime case of what Williams (1954) has called "patterned evasions", and only one of the many instances of "institutionalized evasion of institutional rules" in modern complex societies (cf. Merton, 1957: 318; for further examples see Williams, 1954: 347-366; Moore, 1946: 114; Jacobsen, 1974). We have here what amounts to a behavioral paradox: people who are usually law abiding, orderly and responsible citizens deviate from the prescribed and institutionalized norms by littering, trampling, defacing, and otherwise neglecting or damaging the environment in public and semi-public places. In the common stairway of apartment houses, in lecture halls and cinemas, to say nothing of public streets, parks and picnic sites, citizens of contemporary societies abuse their physical environment in clear violation of the law and of the informal norms.

In the search for a theoretical foothold to try and account for this paradox, we took our cue mainly from the work of Wirth (1938) on urbanism, as amplified and modified by Gans (1962). Accordingly, we posited antecedent variables such as community size, density and heterogeneity, as well as residential stability, age distribution and housing types. The general hypothesis implied by this choice of variables being that, with increasing urbanism, we would find more patterned evasion from the relevant prevailing norms, i.e., lower levels of care and cleanliness of the physical environment in public places.

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We have chosen to study this phenomenon in a sample of 24 kibbutzim. In the absence of - to our knowledge - any previous empirical research in this field, such communities offer some important methodological advantages. While kibbutzim are hardly a representative segment of Israeli society, let alone any other, they are a widely acknowledged value elite in this country even today. Moreover, they also espouse many of the cultural values of Western societies in general, not excluding standards of aesthetics and hygiene. However, there is this important difference: in kibbutzim, the values tend to be clearly articulated in the formal and informal normative systems, and are therefore more readily observed.

Another methodological advantage is that in kibbutzim we have the rare opportunity to study spatially clearly demarcated communities, which, though located in what is still a predominantly rural physical environment, manifest nonetheless many of the structural and cultural characteristics of an urbanized population.

It should be added that kibbutzin are modern communities, democratically administered through formally organized decision making structures, whereby the care and cleanliness of public places is allocated to elected or appointed institutional agents. Thus, as far as environmental care is concerned, kibbutzim are organized very similarly to other modern communities.

According to our reasoning, therefore, the very extremenees of kibbutzim as a societal type should simplify the initial task of identifying and observing the crucial variables that impinge on the care or the neglect of the physical environment. Once these variables have been identified, however, the similarities that do exist between kibbutzim and other types of contemporary communities should enable us to formulate promising hypotheses for further study in a wider range of social settings.

Procedures

A preliminary survey of all kibbutzim in Israel was carried out in the first half of 1973. 232 kibbutzim were assessed on a five-point scale for the active care and cleanliness[2] observed in 11 different locations in each kibbutz (for a full account of this phase of the study see: Jacobsen et al., 1975). The survey data were factor analyzed, the first extracted factor

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[2] Active care was operationally defined as "evidence of activities aimed at beautifying the area by landscaping, flowers, lawns, sculpture, etc". Cleanliness was operationally defined as "the absence of litter, dirt, weeds, or other refuse".

accounting for 67% of the explained variance. It was interpreted as reflecting the norms prevalent in kibbutzim pertaining to the active care and cleanliness of the physical environment. The analysis showed that these norms prescribe more care and cleanliness for residential locations than for communal areas and work areas, placing cleanliness slightly above active care in order of importance. Scores computed from this factor provided an empirical base for drawing a representative sample of 24 kibbutzim, stratified by levels of adherence to the prevailing environmental norms, and by the different political settlement movements to which the kibbutzim are affiliated.

In each sampled kibbutz four of the central office holders were interviewed: the farm manager, kibbutz secretary, head gardener, and education committee chairman. The interview schedule contained closed questions on many diverse matters, among them educational and leisure time activities, housing policy and facilities, competence and experience of garden staff, and the occupational distribution of the labor force. Also included were open-ended questions eliciting the respondents' personal assessments of the kibbutz's position on matters of environmental care and cleanliness. Finally, demographic, economic, and physical data pertaining to the kibbutz community were extracted from the kibbutz's files, archives and maps.

The replies to the open-ended questions yielded four additional hypothetical antecedent variables. These had been mentioned, in one form or another, by a plurality of respondents as reasons for the differences in environmental care among kibbutzim: (1) the availability or lack of budget and/or manpower for environmental care, (2) members' attitudes and sense of responsibility, (3) the country of origin of the kibbutz members, and (4) the need for (and, generally, the lack of) a respected member of the community, dedicated enough to the issue to make the care and cleanliness of the whole kibbutz his personal concern and ambition (in Hebrew: "Meshuga Ladavar", lit.: "an obsessed person").

Analysis

Since the detailed study of the 24 kibbutzim aimed at a clearer understanding of the norms that regulate environmental care, we re-assessed active care and cleanliness in six of the eleven locations that had been rated in the preliminary survey. The five others were either not relevant to all sample kibbutzim (e.g., industry, cattle and poultry sheds), or had already

emerged as a recognizable independent factor in the first analysis (temporary residences). The scores obtained in this second round (which were, of course, highly correlated with those of the first), were also factor analyzed[3], yielding three identifiable factors accounting for 62% of the variance. The factor matrix, after varimax rotation, is given in table 1.

Table 1. Rotated Factor Matrix of 12 Items (N=24)

ITEMS (AC = active care; CL = cleanliness)	FACTORS I	II	III	h^2
CL residential area	.94	-.06	.02	.89
CL private gardens	.69	.13	-.20	.53
AC residential area	.58	.20	-.14	.40
CL children's houses	.51	.37	.30	.48
CL entrance road	.47	.32	.19	.36
AC children's houses	.46	.39	.22	.42
AC dininghall and kitchen	.30	.83	.14	.79
CL dininghall and kitchen	.07	.94	-.01	.90
AC private gardens	.42	.44	-.74	.91
AC workshops	-.01	.09	.65	.43
AC entrance road	.09	.14	.40	.17
CL workshops	-.01	.01	.35	.12
Percent explained variance	33.5	17.0	11.8	

The most readily interpretable of the three factors is factor II, because all the high loadings are concentrated in one location, the dininghall and kitchen. This building is the most distinctive and representative visible symbol of any kibbutz community. Indeed, it is one of the most prominent institutionalized formal symbols of the kibbutz way of life. It is the place every visitor must encounter, and where he meets the kibbutz member in his most "kibbutzic" setting. As such, it is an important part of the front (cf. Goffman, 1959) that the community presents to others, wherein it deliberately tries to look its best, even by non-kibbutzic standards.

Factor I, by contrast, while obviously also a front, is oriented to not just anyone, but primarily to the other members of the kibbutz. The items most heavily loaded on this factor are residential areas and private gardens, and, to a lesser degree , the children's houses. We have, therefore, called factor I the "primary relations oriented front", and factor II the

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[3] A principal axis solution with iterations was employed (cf. Nie et al., 1970).

"secondary relations oriented front".

Factor III presented the greatest difficulties in interpretation. Locations in which there is generally very little active care are highly and positively loaded (workshops and entrance road), while private gardens, which are generally very well kept, are negatively loaded. Kibbutzim with high factor scores on this factor have less beautiful private gardens, but a higher level of care in the public places, while kibbutzim with low scores on this factor have outstandingly well cared-for gardens, but relatively neglected public places. Thus, the kibbutzim of the first type have a more balanced overall appearance, while those of the second type give an impression of extremes in care as well as in neglect. With these considerations in mind we concluded that this factor reflects the extent to which the norms relating to environmental care apply to different locations (cf. Morris, 1956). There are kibbutzim where these norms are location-specific and apply almost exclusively to the "inner" kibbutz, with a resulting concentration of care and effort in these locations. In other kibbutzim these norms apply not only to the "inner" kibbutz, but also to other locations in and around the settlement. The dininghall would not be affected by the extent of application of the norms because, according to our reasoning, this place represents the institutionalized front which is oriented to almost anyone, and may therefore be assumed to be well covered by the norms in either case.

We may say, then, that the normative structure impinging on the care of the environment in kibbutzim contains three mutually unrelated dimensions, as reflected in the three identified orthogonal factors. In all three dimensions there is considerable variance in the factor scores of the 24 sample kibbutzim. The next stage of the analysis, therefore, was an attempt to account for this variance by means of the hypothesized antecedent variables.

To make the analysis of a small sample such as ours as robust as possible we dichotomized each variable into a "high" and a "low" category, using Pearson's contingency coefficient C for a measure of association, with Blalock's correction to give a theoretical maximum coefficient of 1.00 (cf. Blalock, 1960: 230). To prevent misunderstandings, it will be marked C' in this paper). Significance was tested throughout by chi-square, using Yates's correction for continuity (cf. Guilford, 1956: 234). Cutting-points were determined for each variable at the largest and/or most logical break in the data distribution, and the direction of the association was

deduced from the actual frequencies in each of the contingency tables (for reasons of space they will not be reproduced here).

Findings

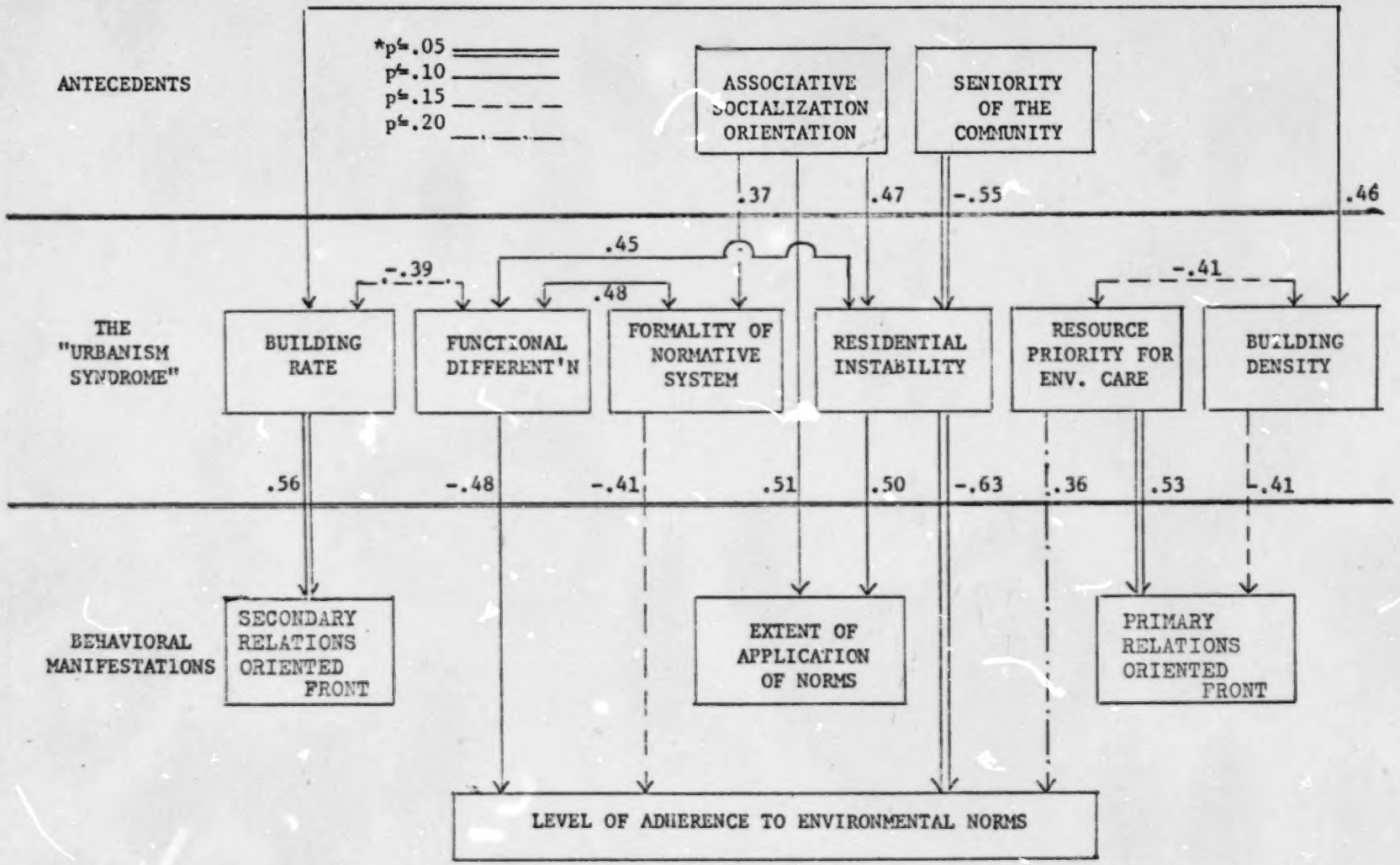
The relationships found between the independent and dependent variables are summarized in figure 1. Factor I, the primary relations oriented front, is negatively associated with building density (C' = -.41), and positively related to the availability of resources for environmental care (C' = .53), the latter two variables being negatively related to one another (C' = -.41). In other words, kibbutzim in which a high proportion of the total settlement area is occupied by buildings tend to have lower scores for care and cleanliness of residential areas, and there also it was claimed that this is due to a lack of budget or manpower. However, since no association at all was found between the claim of a lack of resources and three separate and independent indicators of standard of living and availability of manpower, we suggest that such statements reflect the order of priorities of the kibbutz in allocating its resources, rather than economic contingencies.

Factor II, the secondary relations oriented front, is positively related to the mean yearly building rate (C' = .56). This finding makes sense once it is pointed out that, in recent years, the tendency has been to regard the arrangements and facilities needed for the active care and cleanliness of dininghalls and kitchens as part of the construction plans, and to include them in the budgeting provided for the erection of the building itself. In earlier and less affluent times, however, this was not the case, so that those kibbutzim which have in recent years built a new dininghall (and, presumably, not only a dininghall), have today the more attractive and better maintained secondary relations oriented fronts.

Factor III, the extent of application of environmental norms to different locations, is positively related to residential instability (C' = .50). It is also related to one particular and major variation in kibbutz ideology, namely, the distinction between what we have called a communal and an associative orientation. Kibbutzim in Israel are affiliated to one of six different settlement movements, reflecting the major nuances in political and religious ideology (Arian, 1968: 72-78). One of the important differences in ideology has to do with the policy of recruitment and socialization of new members. In some movements, the potential member is regarded as an individual who chooses to make the kibbutz his home, the kibbutz itself being seen as the common home of

FIGURE 1. SCHEMATIC SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS*

(Arrows indicate hypothesized direction of influence.
Numbers refer to corrected contingency coefficients C').



these like-minded members. We have called this a "communal" orientation ("Vergemeinschaftung", cf. Weber, 1947: 136). In other movements, the kibbutz as a whole is the dominant entity, carrying a social and national mission of its own, while the single member is perceived primarily as part of this collective, who incidentally also has certain (perhaps deplorable but unavoidable) personal wants and ambitions. In keeping with Weber's terminology (as translated by Parsons), this was called an "associative" orientation ("Vergesellschaftung").

In the associative type of kibbutz there is more residential instability (C' = .47), and the extent of application of environmental norms to different locations is broader than in the communal type of kibbutz. The appearance of residential areas is emphasized less, but the public areas are not quite as neglected (C' = .51). This is in keeping with another finding, namely, that in the associative type of kibbutz the normative system in general tends to be more formalized (C' = .37), more of the service tasks being allocated to institutional agents, and less left to the initiative and responsibility of the individual members. The associative kibbutz, in short, has the more pronounced characteristics of urbanism as a way of life, while the reverse holds true for the communal type of kibbutz.

The overall level of adherence to prevailing environmental norms, as measured by the factor scores based on the survey data, is most significantly and negatively associated with residential instability (C' = -.63), while the latter, in turn, is negatively related to the degree of formality of the normative system (C' = -.41), and to a high proportion of service personnel in the labor force (C' = -.48). Again, the elements of what we may call the "urbanism syndrome" are conspicuously and negatively related to the overall level of environmental care. Building density, residential instability, lack of individual responsibility and commitment, rate of physical growth, formality of the normative system and the functional differentiation of occupations - all these have been repeatedly cited by students of urban society as characteristic of the city. All in all, the relationships between the variables consistently point to one conclusion: the more urbanized a kibbutz is (in terms of these variables), the more do we find institutionalized evasion from the prevailing institutional rules relevant to environmental care.

No less instructive than these findings are the relationships that had been hypothesized, but were not found in the data. The absence of any

statistical association between the claim of a lack of resources for environmental care and the actual economic contingencies has already been mentioned, leading us to conclude that this is really an expression of a set of priorities in resource allocation.

Another variable which has no relationship at all with environmental care is the country of origin of the kibbutz members. It has been widely assumed that people from Central and Northern Europe, as well as from North America will display higher standards of care and cleanliness than those from Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean countries or Latin America. However, no significant relationships were found, either with adherence to prevailing norms, or with any of the three dimensions of environmental care. While it may take more than mere facts to allay a popular prejudice, we are reasonably certain that this variable has no direct bearing on the phenomenon we are studying.

Similarly mythical is the notion of the need for a "Meshuga Ladavar", an "obsessed" person who dedicates himself to the issues of ecology and environmental care. No relationships at all were found with any of the dependent or independent variables we have studied. We conclude, therefore, that these three variables, which had been suggested repeatedly by kibbutz members as reasons for the variance in active care and cleanliness among kibbutzim, are actually rationalizations of dissonant cognitions. However, being rationalizations, they do imply an acknowledgement of the validity of the norms that we had postulated on the basis of our survey findings.

Among the variables that had been hypothesized from urban theory there were also some conspicuous non-findings. Gans's concept of "life-cycle stage", for example, was found to be unrelated to any of the other variables. Similarly, the presence or absence of local industry, or the proportion of income derived from agriculture are not among the urban characteristics that impinge on the behavior of people towards the physical environment in kibbutzim. On the other hand, the survey data had shown population size to be curvilinearly related (inverted U) to adherence to prevailing environmental norms, with maximum adherence in kibbutzim with populations of 650 to 700 (Jacobsen et al., 1975). This finding was not replicated in the sample, probably because the sample did not include enough of the really large kibbutzim (1000 residents or more).

Conclusion

In sum, then, we may say that our general hypothesis has received some empirical support: with increasing urbanism, we have found higher levels of patterned evasion from the norms relating to environmental care. However, it is not urbanism as conventionally defined that is related to the patterned evasion, but rather different elements of the urbanism syndrome are associated with different aspects of environmental care. More specifically, the primary relations oriented front is related to the proximity in which people live to one another, and how they allocate their resources. The greater the density, the less resources tend to be allocated to the care of the environment, and the less effort is made to present a front that is oriented to primary relations.

The secondary relations oriented front, on the other hand, is affected by the institutional facilities available for its maintenance. In kibbutzim where these have been adequately provided for in the formal organizational framework, the secondary relations oriented front tends to be more attractive and to be maintained at a higher level than in other kibbutzim.

The extent to which norms prescribing care and cleanliness are location-specific or apply more evenly to all locations is a matter that is related to residential stability or instability, and to the type of community in question - whether it tends toward communal or associative interaction.

Finally, the overall adherence to, or evasion of the prevailing norms relates to the age and size of the community, to residential stability, to the degree of formalization of the normative system, and to the functional differentiation of occupations. We have seen that these relationships hold for kibbutzim. Whether they will be confirmed in other social settings also is a matter for further investigation.

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